

/114/

121 I shall describe to you in the following some aspects of the social structure of the same Indian tribe whose conceptions about the soul Herr Dr. Zerries has just discussed. The title, "Sociology," is too presumptuous, insofar as today I intend to deal with only the larger social units and thus touch upon only a small sector of the sociological field. I shall be able to present to you only raw expedition-material; the comparative arrangement of these data in South American cultural history will be the work of the next few months.

101 The Waika /Waika/ inhabit the upper Orinoco river region
131 in southern Venezuela; their area of habitation, however, is not limited by the Sierra Parima, in which the Orinoco rises and which forms the mountain border with Brazil, but rather extends into Brazilian soil far beyond this mountain chain, about to the middle of the northern tributaries of the Rio Negro and Rio Branco.

• [161] The Sierra Parima therefore is more the backbone of the living space of this Indian group, which, according to the best estimates, contains about fifty thousand persons and an area of about half the size of West Germany. According to external appearances,

137
[32] this region is counted as tropical rain forest; seasonal differences are only slight and are practically without influence on the life and culture of the people. The critical cultural importance of the

101
137
[37] forest lies in its isolating effect: between the habitation area of the Waika and the first mixed settlement there extends an almost uninhabited forest-belt several hundred kilometers wide, and since there is very little river traffic and as other means of transportation there are only onerously traversable Indian paths, the culture of the Waika has been able to remain almost completely pure. Only a

[97] few material things from our world have as yet found their way to them: a few machetes and axes, a few matches and fishhooks, which an American mission working from 1947 to 1955 under very difficult conditions and we ourselves brought along; since the Waika do not maintain any contacts of their own downriver, however, the barely begun acculturation process does not go on /115/ by itself, but ebbs away the moment the visiting whites leave Waika country.

/116 cont./

- 361 scanty knowledge, their population varies between 200 and 300.
- 161 Whereas there in the unexplored south organizational forms for
[621] larger numbers of people have evidently developed, the socio-
logical system of the Waika is organized for only the above-named
figure of a hundred village inhabitants; a surplus of births is
answered by village partition.
- 628 The politically independent villages are partners in war and
peace and for trading and visiting, and the momentary, frequently
changing relationships of the villages to one another give the
political situation in Waika territory its stamp. Let us first look
at the hostile relationships. Affairs involving women are for the
most part the cause of war; if a wife is sought in other villages,
and if the offer is turned down, one resorts to abducting a woman.
Once there has been bloodshed in quarrels originating from this,
the war is self-perpetuating; the original cause has not been for-
gotten, to be sure, but because of its slight intensity in the con-
ceptual world it in no way suffices as a motive for the continuation
of the war. Rather, what does not permit breaking the chain of
attacks repeated at intervals of a few months, in which the enemy
men are killed, but the women abducted, /117/ is ideas and analogous
to blood revenge. Concluding peace is possible only when there has
been no bloodshed for a long period of time, and hostile relations
often last for generations. Thus Waika country is covered with a
network of hostile relationships of varying degrees, and, picking
a village at random, one can distinguish a series of villages that
are friendly, benevolently indifferent, neutral, sympathetic with
the enemy, and, finally, completely hostile. For no two villages,
however, is this series completely identical; there are no ex-
tensive alliances; war is an affair of the individual village, and a
friendly village is aided only if there are personal reasons for
hostility. No Waika village is without an enemy, and because
of the many crisscrossings of the degrees of relationships the
political situation is extremely complicated. We therefore see
that even on the broadest social plane -- that of the people as
a cultural and linguistic whole -- there is a very pronounced

/120 cont. /

621 These periodically recurring radial movements from a fixed
166 center (the village with its planting) do not affect, in sociologi-
241 cal respects, the substance of the village: normally the whole vil-
lage migrates. In this respect, however, it is different with re-
gard to a second type of village movement, which is not charac-
terized by the going back and forth of the short forest-sojourns,
but rather takes place over longer periods of time and only in
one direction. The Waika live only about five years from one
planting and then move to a new one laid out beforehand, which
is usually about a day's journey away. Practically every village
known to us has an old and a new planting, for since the chonta
palm (*Guilielma gasipaes*), still cultivated today and useful in
many ways, has a different life span than the various types of
bananas, overlapping in the utilization of the plantings cannot be
[173] avoided. If a newly established planting is bearing enough
bananas, the whole village is moved to the new planting: the names
and the site of earlier plantings are remembered exactly, how-
ever, so that from this the history of each individual village, i.e.,
its shifting in Waika territory, and consequently the history of the
Waika themselves in their territorial aspect, can be reconstructed
for two to three generations. Such a move to a new place, how-
621 ever, is also the occasion for changes in the composition of the
166 village, for a split as a rule, for in the meantime, because of the
161 enormous /121/ surplus of births, which the Waika have to register
173 today, the village has grown far beyond the limit of the number
of persons that can be governed well under their institution-poor
system. The partition of the village is not done at discretion,
but exactly along the lines of separation indicated by the above-
mentioned composition by groups of families. One or more groups
[43] of families are the bearers of the new villages, and the memory
[182] of the way the new village was founded by the union of several
groups of families is ceremonially represented as shown, in the
gift-exchange.

Sardra
Pakidai

/3 cont./

648 On the Rio Demini, slightly below the Cachoeira (rapids)
 484 Auatsinaua, is the Indian protection post "Ajuricaba" (Ill. 1).
 From the mouth to that point is a six-day journey in a small boat
 with a four-horsepower outboard motor. On this long stretch
 161 there are only two dozen families. Fifty years ago the banks
 178 along the lower third were more densely settled than they are
 today. But malaria and a terrible beriberi epidemic, 1907/08,
 164 carried off the majority of the inhabitants. After the great forest
 165 fire which raged along the Demini in 1926, health conditions
 648 improved temporarily. In the most recent times a motor boat
 164 of the National Malaria Service travels up the Demini and Aracá
 once a year, and the palm-straw huts of the inhabitants are sprayed
 with DDT. Nevertheless, malaria still takes its toll. Often it
 also leads to a protracted liver ailment; above all, there is a
 164 lack of any kind of medication. A second scourge is tuberculosis,
 262 the cause of which, aside from the humid, hot climate, may
 probably be traced to the poor and unbalanced diet. It consists
 predominantly of manioc meal, small fish, the salted, sun-dried
 meat of the pirarucu, salted wild-pig meat, and, to a considerably
 smaller extent, birds and game, for the men generally do not
 have time to hunt. In addition, /4/ for rubber and palm-fiber
 gatherers, fruit and vegetables are practically unknown luxuries.
 164 As a result of the crowded life of the individual families and the
 lack of hygiene, children too are not free from tuberculosis.
 Moreover, mention must be made of a dangerous eye infection
 which often leads to blindness. This comes about because a fine
 dust is constantly trickling down from the palm-straw roofs of the
 huts, in which there are many insects, and it gets into the eyes of
 the people asleep in their hammocks. An infectious skin disease
 that causes light spots on the skin is also widespread. Worm and
 intestinal ailments occur frequently, as does syphilis. Finally,
 it is noteworthy that adults and children have very poor teeth.
 [162] The reason for this may again probably be sought in the unbalanced
 diet, for all of the free Forest Indians who have more variety in
 165 their meals, have excellent teeth. Mortality is highest among
 the children, and next come the women, a relatively large num-
 ber of whom die in childbirth since there is, of course, no medical
 assistance.

Surára
Pakidái

/57 cont. /

VII. Social Organization

1. General

619

In the case of the Surára and the Pakidái, these are sovereign tribes, who, however, live together in connubium. The same extends to the friendly Xiríana /Shiriana/, Puseheweterf, Aramamesterf, etc.

648
• 161
[842]
[164]
[165]
[1726]
Although the Indians investigated by me have very little contact with palm-fiber gatherers or the personnel of the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the Demini, their population is steadily decreasing for the following reasons: birth control; high infant mortality as a result of the lack of hygiene; diseases, chiefly measles epidemics (312), but also chicken pox and gripe;

[115]
312. In 1952/53, for example, a measles epidemic spread like a wave from the lower Amazonas as far as the Brazilian-Colombian border area and brought death to many Indians. (Statement by Herr Alípio Edmundo Lage, Inspector of la. Inspeção do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, Manaus).

and frequent wars (313).

313. On the occasion of an attack on a hostile maloka, an attempt is made to kill all the men, young men, and boys, insofar as possible, while the women and girls are taken along as captives.

2. Names

551
162
[160]
The exact number of Surára at the time of my stay among them amounted to only 64 (314) and consisted of the following:

[114]
314. In the first reports of my investigations I erroneously gave the number as 42 (Becher, 1957a, p. 118; Becher, 1958, p. 157).

Surára
Pakidáí

/58 cont. /

	Estimated Age
51 162 Xeramá -- his second wife (from the Aramamesterí tribe)	25 years
Xaniwō -- son	12 years
Daughter (has no name yet)	2 years
Xutumí -- widow	59 years
Haikiamá -- her daughter (likewise a widow)	40 years
Yarikoawō -- son of Haikiamá (bachelor)	17 years
Katarauwō -- solitary bachelor	17 years
/59/	
Ikoauwō -- solitary bachelor	16 years
Jibeauwō -- orphan boy	9 years
Mauahemá -- orphan boy	8 years
Nikeromá -- female captive (from the hostile tribe of the Karauaterí)	15 years

- [61] There are somewhat more Pakidáí, for they numbered 89.
 [123] Since my association with them was not quite as close as with
 the Surára, however, I was able to learn considerably fewer given
 names. In the following I am presenting those that became known
 to me:

	Estimated Age
Karenauō -- chief and medicine man	26 years
Poroamá -- his wife (from the Surára tribe)	20 years
Son (has no name yet)	2 years
Poréhiwō -- war chief	32 years
Ruxoyetemí -- his first wife (from the Surára tribe)	30 years
Yauetoiwō -- son	13 years
Xarafina -- daughter	7 years
Daughter (has no name yet). She was born during my stay	1 month
The second wife of Poréhiwō left him because of ill treatment and was presumably drowned	
Kaxiribewō -- warrior (brother of Poréhiwō)	39 years
Monamí -- his wife	36 years

Bari SS 13
Makiritare SS 20

Sanema
Warao SS 18
Saliva SS 15

/179 conf./

Y
131
127
128

We have knowledge of the distribution of the Sanemá on the Ventuari, Erebató, and Caura from our own expedition's personnel, while we took the data on the Casapare from the excellent cartographic work of Montoya (1958), who visited the zone over a period of several months.

107

/180/ The name Casapare is employed by the Sanemá to designate their neighbors to the east. (Koch-Grünberg (1923) had already mentioned the group of the Upper Uraricapará, a tributary of the Uraricuera and the one that occupied the right shore of the Uraricuera River, facing the Marutani range, on the Motomotó River. The broken lines indicate, approximately, the territory occupied by each Yanoama subtribe. The location of the Makiritare of the Cunucunuma comes from the map published by Cuvrieux (1959), and that of the other settlements of that tribe was verified by the personnel of our expedition.

M
131
127

Y
131
161

According to this map, the territory inhabited at the present time by the Yanoama is located between $0^{\circ} 30' - 5^{\circ} N$ and $62^{\circ} - 65^{\circ} 30' W$. If we grant that the total Yanoama population reaches the figure of 20,000 individuals spread out over an area of 150,000 square kilometers, we recognize as the density index of the population that of one person per 7.5 square kilometers. There are authors who, being overly generous, raise the Yanoama population to 30,000 and even 50,000 inhabitants, but this number seems exaggerated to us.

B
131

161
177

It is interesting to point out that the highest figures for the native population correspond to the primitive tribes of hunters and fishermen or to those who had an incipient or rudimentary agriculture, such as: the Barí (Motilones, Mapé), 2,000; the Piaroa, 4,000; and the Warao, 8,000.

They are also the tribes which have had least contact with the white man. There is an interesting and instructive relation between the demographic datum of a native population and the number of years that it has had contact with Whites: the higher the latter, the lower the former.

4: Wilbert--41 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanbama SQ18

Makintare SS 20 Sanema

M
Y
102
103
131
133
● 161



/200 cont. /

162

C. Sanemá of the upper Ventuari (Nabudub)

<u>Locality</u>	<u>No. Inhabitants</u>	<u>Observations</u>
1. Wewena	50	The Nabudub of Ihuduña frequently move between the Ventuari and the Erebató.
2. Wadeuña	80	
3. Mahanaña	50	
4. Ihuduña	200	
Total	380 estimated individuals.	

• 161

According to this demographic estimation there are approximately 2,150 Sanemá in the zone of the upper Ventuari, Erebató, and Caura. We do not know how many Sanemá live on the Padamo.

342

We have seen four different types of houses among the Sanemá: (a) windscreen type, (b) triangular in shape and Makiritare system, (c) rectangular, and (d) oblong. We have found types (a) and (b) together in the same encampment on the Ventuari, facing Caño Mosquito.

342

361

[501]

[137]

[262]

On our trip through that place we saw two Sanemá rafts moored on the bank of the Ventuari. We later climbed a cliff and followed a path which led us to a conuco of the Sanemá. At one end there was a gigantic algarroba tree laden with fruit. Judging from the skins scattered on the ground, we realized that the Sanemá had consumed a great quantity. Near the tree, which in times past offered them /201/ its generous shade, we found a desolate Sanemá encampment. It was made up of five triangular huts and two of the windscreen type. Both types of construction seem to be typical of the Yanoama and are remarkable for their size, somewhat small. For the construction of a triangular cabin six poles 1.60 meters long are needed to serve as posts or supports. Three pairs are made out of them, each bound at the upper end with a bejuco, and with some 30 centimeters left free in order to form a fork. The lower parts of the poles are stuck into the ground at a distance of half a meter. These forks in tee form with a separation of two meters form a regular triangle. Three sticks are later placed on the forks, and these support the roof made of platanillo /Musaceae/ leaves. A similar rancho was described by Koch-Grünberg (1923, Pl. 43).

342

[324]

since Koch-Grünberg's contact with two Yanoama groups, in 1911, that more substantial information on this interesting tribe has been collected and in parts been published.² 114

Emerging from these data are the names and descriptions of a number of distinguishable tribal units, e.g., Sanemá (Guaharibo, Shirishana), Casapare, Waica, Samatari, Surara, Pakidái, and others. It also has become quite obvious that the Yanoama subtribes are not unified by socio-political authority, but rather by a general and specific culture type, which in turn is integrated by a series of subcultures and culture variants, carried by the different subtribes and local groups respectively. The various local groups and subtribes occupy a coherent territory, they speak more or less closely related languages and display essentially similar economic, sociological, and religious forms. 105 [101]

Taken as a whole, the Yanoama were found to be a very numerous tribe and they belong, in fact, to the most numerous of all the autochthonous populations of lowland South America, but previously published figures of 30-50,000 individuals appear to represent very generous overestimations of the demographic strength of the Yanoama groups known so far. 161

Linguistic classification. Several authors have attempted a linguistic classification of the Yanoama although most of them did not have at their disposal the more recent material.³ Taking advantage of this material, we have attempted a glottochronological analysis, the results of which allow us some interesting insight into the internal correlation of the Yanoama languages.⁴ 197 [128]

According to this result, the several Yanoama languages, as known today, constitute the Yanoama linguistic stock of 6-35 mc of internal separation. The two more or less clearly distinguishable families of the stock are: A. *Sanemá*: (a) Sanemá, (b) Nabudíb, (c) Pubmatari, [6-17 mc of internal divergencies: Sanemá-Nabudíb = 6 mc, Sanemá-Pubmatari = 17 mc, Nabudíb-Pubmatari = 17 mc]; B. *Casapare*: (a) Casapare, (b) Carime (?), (c) Waica, (d) Samatari (Surara and Pakidái), [8-21 mc of internal divergencies, excepting Carime (for lack of vocabulary material): Casapare-Waica = 21 mc, Casapare-Samatari = 21 mc, Waica-Samatari = 8 mc].

² Surara-Pakidái, by Escher, 1960; Waica, by Baker, 1933; Schwen, 1978; Zervin, 1955, 1956, 1958a, 1959, 1960; Sanemá, by Vinci, 1959; Wilbert, 1961a, 1961b.

³ Rivet, 1924, p. 678; Loukotka, 1944, pp. 8-9; Mazon, 1930, p. 254; Rivet and Loukotka, 1952, p. 1140; McQuown, 1955, p. 525; Greenberg, 1956; Swadesh, 1959, p. 20; Delf Igau Rodriguez, 1960, pp. 136-137.

⁴ We are indebted to Drs H. Escher and O. Zervin for letting us have a basic vocabulary of Surara-Pakidái and Waica respectively. Complete information on source material has been presented by Wilbert, 1961a. 127

THE SAMATARI PLAN

island of unbroken forest, which is not crossed by any formidable water barrier. If this were the case, the Shirians, who are pre-eminently a land people, would be presented with an insurmountable obstacle. 133 101

North of the Brazilian frontier live the Shirians of the Canaracuni and the Merevari. These are divided into various clans, the most important being the Uma-Dildep, the Haruso, the Oskadeh, the Kopali, the Hana-Dildep, the Ukumatari, the Kona-Kona—they swarm like ants. Then there are the Guayca Shirians of Uarema, lately established on the Merevari, but originally from the Upper Uagna. Along the mountain watershed which extends, with frequent interruptions, from the Uagna to the centre of the highlands where the Uraricoera, the Ventuari and the Padamo rivers rise, one encounters the nomadic Samatari—the 'people of the pineapple'—a fierce and savage race of howling creatures that run in packs like animals. 101 [614] [31]

The general term used by the Shirians to designate their most savage tribes is 'Guayca' (in their language, 'wild'). By the Guayca they sometimes mean the Samatari and sometimes the Ukumatari. On the Padamo and in the lowlands enclosed by the great mountains of Marahuaca and Duida—that is, to the south of the central ridge—they have spread right beyond the upper reaches of the Orinoco: though in these regions there are also many of the more peaceful Shirian peoples such as the Uaka on the Uesete, the Faricete, the Matacuni, the Kologli, the Haue, and the Ish'tich—the 'people of flowers and bananas'. The Guayca and the Samatari are also to be found east of the Padamo-Orinoco-Rio Parima watershed, in the wildest and least-known territory. Isolated groups, with a touch of the legendary about them, inhabit the fringe of this region: for instance, the Kasrape, credited by all Shirians with unparalleled ferocity and cruelty. The Kasrape inhabit the right bank of the Lower Uraricoera in Brazil, and no traveller appears to have visited them yet. [186]

How numerous are the Shirians? No one can state a figure with any certainty, but it may be accepted that they run into many thousands, and taken together represent a block that outnumbers all other races and tribes inhabiting the Orinoco and Rio Branco basin. 161

I had asked Luis Antonio whether it would be possible for me to be present during the confinement of his kinswoman, presuming the happy event took place during our stay, but all I got for an answer was a doubtful 'I don't know'—the formula in which the Indian takes refuge when he does not know what to say. This did not quite deny the possibility, even if it did not encourage the 123*

131 Numerically, the Yanomam³³ are one of the largest
161 unacculturated tribes in South America, having a total popu-
lation that approaches 10,000 in both Venezuela and Brazil.
Most Yanomam³ live in Venezuela, occupying the area drained
by the upper Orinoco, Mavaca, Manaviche, Ocamo, Padamo and
Ventuari Rivers in the state of Amazonas, and the headwaters
of the Caura and Paragua rivers of Estado Bolivar. In several
101 drainages (Paragua, Caura, Ventuari and Padamo) the Yanomam³
179 are in contact with other tribes speaking Carib languages
439 (Makiritare and Arekuna or Taulipang), from whom the Yanomam³
have traditionally obtained steel tools in trade and from
whom a number of culture traits have been borrowed. Zerries
has painstakingly analyzed these traits in his 1964 work.

114 No systematic census has been made of the entire
161 Yanomam³ language family, although James P. Barker was
commissioned by the Venezuelan Government to compile a census
of the Yanomam³ occupying the Amazonas territory of that
country. By both actual head-count and estimates of village
size for groups that topography prevented him from visiting,
Barker presently estimates the Venezuelan Amazonas Yanomam³
population to be well over 7,000.¹

161 The population in Amazonas is distributed in some 80
162 to 100 villages, averaging between 60 and 100 people per
#621 village.² Villages occasionally contain as few as 40 people

[115] ¹Personal communication. See Zerries (1964:5) for a
discussion of Yanomam³ population size. He concludes that
the Yanomam³ are "... the largest yet unacculturated
aboriginal group in tropical South America." (Ibid. My
translation.)

[128] ²The relationship to warfare tactics and village size
is discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

- 161 and as many as 250, but the lower extreme is uncommon because
- 162 of military vulnerability and the upper extreme occurs only
- * 621 when particularly intense warfare retards village splitting or leads to the coalition of several related villages.

361 Villages that are on peaceful terms may be found
 228 living within a few miles of each other, whereas mutually
 722 hostile villages rarely are located less than a day's march apart; even then, one of the villages may move to reduce the possibility of raiding.

361 The village itself is circular or oval in plan, is generally surrounded by a palisade of upright logs and, depending on the number of people living in the village, has a diameter ranging from 15 to 70 yards.

361 The village is hardly more than a continuous, circular
 342 lean-to roof, open at the center. The roof starts at ground level (occasionally one or two feet above ground level), rises at an angle of 30° to 40°, reaching a maximum height of about 25 feet. The un-partitioned segments of the continuous roof are built by the families who occupy them, brothers and their dependents living next to each other. The materials used in construction are long, slender poles, vines to secure the pole frame and a thatch made from leaves.

351 There are usually several entrances to the village, each located at a point marking the boundary of one segment of the roof with another, and are merely un-thatched sections of the otherwise continuous roof. Most of the entrances are only 3 feet high, although there usually is at least one

Table 1: Village Size, Male/Female Sex-ratio, and Percentage of Excess Males.

Village Name	Size	Males	Females	Sex-Ratio	% Excess Males
Rayaboböwei-tedi	77	47	30	1.6	22
Mjmariböwei-tedi	85	47	38	1.2	11
Patanowü-tedi	212	122	90	1.4	15
Monou-tedi	66	34	32	1.1	3
Bisaasi-tedi	136	62	74	0.8	-9
Totals:	576	312	264		

$\frac{312}{264}$ 1.2 Total Male/Female Sex-ratio

$\frac{48}{576}$ 8% Excess of Males.

167

[Paruritawā-tedi Group]

It will be immediately apparent that the Shamatari village histories are more complicated than the one outlined for the Namowei-tedi. This stems from the fact that the Shamatari villages had reached a large size by 1900 and began splitting into smaller groups earlier, in terms of the data I collected, than did the Namowei-tedi. In other words, the splitting that characterized Namowei-tedi's population from about 1940 to 1955 was occurring in the Shamatari population in 1900. Although I do not have census data on the numerous Shamatari villages that subsequently emerged from the two initial groups, I suspect that the numbers of people involved are significantly larger for the Shamatari village histories. Two factors seem to be the cause of this phenomenon. First, the Shamatari villages had access to steel tools in considerable numbers before Namowei-tedi's ancestral population did; my informants asserted that their first source of steel tools was the group called Shihowā-tedi. Presumably the size of the populations involved is a function of their agricultural potentials, and the Shamatari apparently expanded earlier than the Namowei-tedi because they had access to steel tools sooner. Secondly, the Shamatari population expanded unopposed into virgin territory, whereas the Namowei-tedi expanded into territory already occupied by other Ynomamō; it is significant to note that when the Namowei-tedi ultimately moved into unoccupied territory, their population seems to have increased, and the first split occurred only after virgin territory was colonized.¹

¹I am unable to explain how this affects demographic variables, but my data suggest that Ynomamō populations expand more rapidly when they colonize virgin land.

188

*621 they have; but they must revenge raids coming from Bisaasi-
 *622 tedi. Now that Paruriwā and his followers have moved away
 *623 from Ksobwā's group, the Patanowā-tedi can raid Paruriwā
 726 without having to 'look twice' before shooting. As Paruriwā's
 578 faction is a small one, it is vulnerable; one raid from the
 Patanowā-tedi will force it to rejoin Ksobwā's group. The
 internal stability of the reunited groups will suffer if this
 happens, as Paruriwā will be obliged to demonstrate his
 leadership capacity. This will involve making an issue out
 of an incident that probably would have been overlooked prior
 to the separation of the two groups, and internal friction
 will be high.

The split within Patanowā-tedi

726
 *621 The incessant raiding from Hasabōwā-tedi, Kashorawā-
 *628 tedi, Yabitawā-tedi, Monou-tedi, Bisaasi-tedi and their
 152 respective allies brought about a high degree of tension among
 (022) the Patanowā-tedi. It was not safe to leave the village at
 *621 any time. The Patanowā-tedi had attempted to split into
 578 three groups several years earlier, as the population had
 726 reached a large size and internal fighting was a nuisance.
 (061) The development of the war with the Hasabōwā-tedi forced them
 (152) to reunite. Factionalism, however, was pronounced within the
 village, and the added tension brought about by the new war
 with Monou-tedi, Bisaasi-tedi and the latter's two Shamatari
 allies ultimately led to an internal split within Patanowā-
 tedi a month before I left the field.

184 occupying five different sites, each having its own house
 361 and garden. These five groups recombined into a single
 621 unitary village only when warfare threatened. To the south-
 628 west of the Uraricaá area, in the headwaters of the Parima
 722 River, the villages tend to be larger and more nucleated.
 On the Upper Parima River villages have a permanent centralized
 site to which the dispersed extended families may retreat when
 184 raids are imminent. Warfare is more common in this area than
 721 on the Uraricaá. The Parima Mountains separate this group of
 120 Yanomamö from those whose social organization is described in
 123 this thesis. Southwest of the Parima Mountains intensity of
 warfare is similar to that found in the Mavaca basin. Cor-
 361 responding to this increase in intensity is a change in type
 of settlement: palisaded villages are general southwest of
 the Parima Mountains, whereas they are found only sporadically
 or not at all to the northeast.

184 There is likewise an apparent cline in population
 361 density isomorphic with the cline in warfare intensity.
 131
 721 Yonomamö villages in Brazil are progressively smaller and
 161 more widely scattered as one proceeds northeastward from the
 Parima Mountains. It is tempting to correlate the reduction
 in warfare intensity with the demographic pattern. However,
 177 another factor complicates the picture: the Yonomamö have more
 contact with other tribes (Makiritare and Arekuna) in the
 northeast extension of their territory; in many cases they
 184 live in the same villages with these tribes. I suspect that
 648 the contact they have with the Carib-speaking groups also
 721

Doing Fieldwork among the Yanomamö

THE YANOMAMÖ¹ INDIANS live in southern Venezuela and the adjacent portions of northern Brazil (see frontispiece map, p. iv). Some 125 widely scattered villages have populations ranging from 40 to 250 inhabitants, with 75 to 80 people the most usual number. In total numbers their population probably approaches 10,000 people, but this is merely a guess. Many of the villages have not yet been contacted by outsiders, and nobody knows for sure exactly how many uncontacted villages there are, or how many people live in them. By comparison to African or Melanesian tribes, the Yanomamö population is small. Still, they are one of the largest unacculturated tribes left in all of South America.

But they have a significance apart from tribal size and cultural purity: the Yanomamö are still actively conducting warfare. It is in the nature of man to fight, according to one of their myths, because the blood of "Moon" spilled on this layer of the cosmos, causing men to become fierce. I describe the Yanomamö as "the fierce people" because that is the most accurate single phrase that describes them. That is how they conceive themselves to be, and that is how they would like others to think of them.

I spent nineteen months with the Yanomamö,² during which time I acquired some proficiency in their language and, up to a point, submerged myself in their culture and way of life.

¹The word Yanomamö is nasalized through its entire length, indicated by the diacritical mark [a]. When this mark appears on a word, the entire word is nasalized. The terminal vowel [-o] represents a sound that does not occur in the English language. It corresponds to the phone [ɨ] of linguistic orthography. In normal conversation, Yanomamö is pronounced like "Yah-no-mama," except that it is nasalized. Finally, the words having the [-ɨ] vowel are pronounced at that vowel with the "uh" sound of "duck." Thus, the name Kəɨbawɨ would be pronounced "cow-ba-wuh," again nasalized.

²I spent a total of twenty-three months in South America of which nineteen were spent among the Yanomamö on three separate field trips. The first trip, November 1964 through February 1966, was to Venezuela. During this time I spent thirteen months in direct contact with the Yanomamö, using my periodic trips back to Caracas to visit my family and to collate the genealogical data I had collected up to that point. On my second trip, January through March 1967, I spent two months among Brazilian Yanomamö and one more month with the Venezuelan Yanomamö. Finally, I returned to Venezuela for three more months among the Yanomamö, January through April 1968.